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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingacos* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty.

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. House-building, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonera* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity.

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied.

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen.

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat

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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

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might be secured, hewing the planks for doors or sidings, and other tasks might be performed by means of a small-scale, nonreciprocal labor arrangement over a long period of time. With the *rukan* the house is raised and the work is terminated in a festive atmosphere.

Family fields are given primary and sometimes secondary plowings by the head of the family and his adult sons. If a *mingaco* is held at planting time, therefore, only a final plowing is performed by the work group at the time the seeds are sown. Today, field crops are more important than *chacarería* and field labor is principally man's work involving draft plowing. Commensurate with the small fields characteristic of Mapuche homesteads is the small labor force needed to work them. Small *mingacos* are held primarily to get the work accomplished in a single day, whether there is an urgent need for this or not. While it might be less costly for a family to work its own fields, there is a strong tendency, related to an over-all atmosphere of euphoria and expectancy at planting and harvest time, to celebrate agricultural "crises" in the *mingaco* pattern.

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The organization of this sort of work correlates with structural alignments in the community. Cooperation tends to involve the closest kin, the males of a sublineage and their families. These families generally live in neighboring houses which have greater spatial cohesiveness and a tighter functional relationship among themselves than with other groups on the reservation.

Vuelta Mano

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Much of the day-to-day work, as well as some of the crucial agricultural operations which can be easily completed by a few individuals, are organized on a strictly reciprocal basis called *vuelta mano*. Under this arrangement one man helps another with the understanding that his labor will be paid back in the future. The reciprocity is on a man-for-man, day-for-day basis in theory, although in practice the exchange of labor is seldom exactly equal. The Mapuche appear to be satisfied with a roughly approximate expenditure of effort, and there is no haggling over the kinds of labor or the exact requirements of the agreement.

Vuelta mano often results in partnerships which are sustained for several years or longer, but there are no formal work parties which exchange labor as seems to be the case in the Peruvian Andes. The participants are few in number, a man exchanging labor with no more than two others as a general rule, but sufficient to carry out the